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REPORT ON AFRICA TOUR

# The Angola revolt: Exclusive story by Kumar Goshal

**PEACE MARCH**
*A group of placard-carrying peace marchers, including 10 Americans, land at Ostend, Belgium, on their way to the French border at Courtai, Belgium. There they were to meet a group of French marchers and resume the trek toward Moscow. The U.S. team which started out from San Francisco was blocked in two attempts to cross France. The combined groups headed for Brussels. The 6,500-mile walk, sponsored by the U.S. Committeee for Nonviolent Action, is being staged on behalf of unilateral disarmament by East and West.*

**By Kumar Goshal**
Guardian staff correspondent

CONAKRY, GUINEA

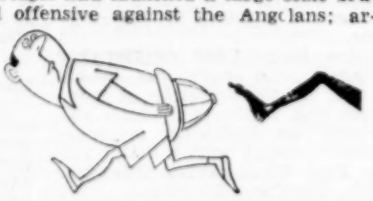
THE SHORTWAVE radio was dribbling out news about Angola: The spreading, like a prairie fire, of the Angolans' revolt against Portuguese rule; mass arrests of Angolans and the disappearance of many who were seized; atrocities against Angolans by Portuguese troops; and the report that the UN Security Council had, under U.S. pressure passed only a milk-and-water resolution asking Portugal to halt repressive measures against the Angolans. There was a shocking contrast between the enormity of Portugal's crime and the mildness of the UN resolution.

We were sitting in Mario de Andrade's modest bungalow on the outskirts of Conakry. Andrade is the president of the Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola (MPLA). With us were a couple of Mario's colleagues. Foreign newspapers are unobtainable here and the four-page local paper keeps stories brief, so we had the shortwave radio going all the time.

We compared notes, reviewed the radio reports on Angola from London, Paris, Accra; went over other reports that had come by mail, by underground channels and by couriers and observers passing through Conakry. They all told of the spread of revolt from the north to the center and south of Angola; of the Angolans fighting with anything that was handy, from ancient bows and arrows to modern rifles; and of the Angolans' incredible courage against odds.

**A MASSACRE:** The odds were massive. Portugal had launched a large-scale brutal offensive against the Angolans; arrested thousands of Africans and even some Europeans; and used napalm bombs and machine guns. The 1,500 arrested in Lobito alone—the local jail has room for only 100—have vanished. Portuguese troops have massacred thou-

*(Continued on Page 3)*



Tvorba, Prague
**"I'll have to take a chance on sunstroke. There are more sensitive spots."**

**Eight pages this week**

**The GUARDIAN this week appears in its summertime eight-page issue. We will return to our regular 12-page edition shortly after Labor Day.**

COUNCIL MEMBERS SILENTLY SWALLOW MEANY'S LINE

# AFL-CIO goes overboard for the cold war

**By Robert E. Light**

AGONIZED by its inability to cope with its own problems, the AFL-CIO executive council turned on world affairs with a vengeance and put labor on record to the right of the Republican Party The council's quarterly meeting June 26-29 at Unity House, Pa., a Garment Workers resort, called on Congress to give President Kennedy "full emergency power" to mobilize the nation's resources during world crisis.

The council urged President Kennedy to name a commission, on which unions would be represented, to make recommendations to end government and private business practices "which have tended to help the communist bloc alleviate or overcome its own serious economic and political difficulties." Such practices, the council said, included sale of machinery and food to socialist countries, as well as granting government aid to members of the "Soviet bloc."

**FOR NEW TESTS:** The council called for the resumption of nuclear testing in light of increasing world tensions. To prevent "Soviet imperialism" from conquering West Germany, it asked Britain and France to join the U.S. in rejecting Premier Khrushchev's proposals for a Berlin settlement.

Withdrawal of Western troops from Berlin, the council said, would insure the city's absorption by the U.S.S.R. Thus, it denounced the tentative proposal by Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) that Berlin become a "free city" under an international authority. AFL-CIO president George Meany declared himself against Mansfield's plan "completely, absolutely and conclusively."

For Latin America, the council proposed continuing sanctions against the Dominican Republic. But it warned of increased danger to the hemisphere from the "beachhead of the Communist International" in Cuba.

The resolutions bore the council's name, but the sentiments for intensifying the cold war were Meany's. Many on the council held other views. Top officials of the butchers, auto and clothing workers unions are on the executive board of the SANE nuclear policy committee. Lesser leaders have joined in local peace conferences. But all held their tongues as Meany pushed through the resolutions.

**INTERNAL FEUDS:** One of the implicit understandings of the AFL-CIO merger is that Meany has his way on foreign policy. This and other rankling aspects of the merger have set off bitter feuds.

Four times a year the council meets to assess the federation's problems and, if possible, to solve them. But for the last three years council members have assembled to face the same agenda that confounded them at their previous session. The meetings turn into classic studies of frustration and futility. There is so little faith that the council will solve any problems that Auto Workers president Walter Reuther chose to remain in Detroit for the formalities of opening a bargaining session.

These are the recurring problems:

- Craft and industrial unions continue to raid each other's plants. Council plans to arbitrate jurisdictional disputes are thwarted or ignored.
- Union membership is shrinking because of automation and recessions. Organizing drives, particularly in the South and among white collar workers, have

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# *The battle goes on for campus freedom*

**By Joanne Grant**

THE CONTINUING DEBATE—the "Un-Americans" vs. the students—is expected to become more vociferous this month when the University of California at Berkeley begins a review of an order suspending a campus organization, SLATE.

The university said June 10 that SLATE was suspended because it persisted in calling itself a political party. The organization was founded in 1958 to run candidates for student government. Its name derives from "a slate of candidates."

Mike Tigar, former chairman of SLATE and active in the campaign to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities, said: "Apparently the university is more concerned with the complaints of right-wing cranks than with the principles of academic freedom and free speech that made the university what it is." Tigar said pressure against SLATE by university officials had mounted since the group led picketing against HUAC during May, 1960 hearings in San Francisco. After HUAC made "Operation Abolition," a distorted film version of the demonstrations, SLATE issued a recording, "Sounds of Protest," giving the student version of the events.

**SPEAKER DISPUTE:** SLATE also came under right-wing fire when it sponsored speakers whom the Los Angeles **Times** termed "controversial"—Bishop James Pike, Dr. Linus Pauling and Frank Wilkinson, a leader in the campaign to abolish the Un-American Committee.

The incident which triggered the suspension order, according to Dean of Students William F. Shepard, was a letter to the Ohio State University student publication, the **Lantern**, signed "SLATE, Campus Political Party, University of California." The letter was a protest against Ohio State's refusal to allow William Mandel, a San Francisco radio commentator and vigorous HUAC opponent, to speak on the campus. The incident abounds in irony, for the protesting letter quoted UC President Clark

*(Continued on Page 3)*

# THE MAIL BAG

### To Justice Black

NEW MILFORD, CONN.

We have just sent this letter to Justice Hugo Black:

"We honor you for your courage. We love you for your straight thinking. Watching our dear country head down the road of Mussolini, Hitler, Franco—yelling "Freedom" and "Democracy" while becoming a military-police-state—we would be in utter despair were it not for the people like you. Thank you, thank you."

Thank you, too, dear GUARDIAN!

**Ruth Erickson**
**Eleanor Stevenson**

### Korea article

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I appreciate very much your June 5th issue . . . (especially) the article on South Korean situation. That article is the best I have read since that coup d'etat. Please send me 10 copies. Wishing you the best health in your public service.

**Diamond Kimm**

### A view on Castro

PAKOKEE, FLA.

The main trouble with Fidel Castro is that he speaks the truth. That was also the main trouble with the man from Nazareth.

**R. E. Boe**

### Aid for the Haugs

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Convicted, on the evidence of a proved perjurer, of a crime which no longer exists because the law creating it has been repealed, two militant fighters for labor and all things progressive, Fred and Marie Haug of the Cleveland Taft-Hartley Case, are each sentenced to a year in Federal Penitentiary. Marie is already in prison.

We cannot spare them that, but there is something we can do for them. They were also fined $5,000, and the judge demanded payment by May 22. To prevent losing their home to raise this sum, they were forced to borrow $1,000 at the last minute.

Are there 1,000 GUARDIAN readers who care **one buck's** worth for the principles of freedom and justice for which the Haugs are enduring imprisonment? Answer with a dollar bill to Fred Haug, 14720 Milverton Rd., Cleveland 20, Ohio.

**Florence H. Luscomb**

### Good results

FLUSHING, N.Y.

The ad which I placed in the GUARDIAN for my book service was successful in several ways. In the first place, it attracted inquiries from all over the country, and inquiries which were pertinent to the services offered. (This last was important, for I received many useless responses from people who did not understand what I was offering, in reply to ads in other papers—my fault, I suppose, but it didn't happen with GUARDIAN replies.) I made several sales, and, I hope, several permanent customers from the GUARDIAN ad—more, per response, than from a similar ad run in the New York **Times** Book Review.

Although I received fewer inquiries from the GUARDIAN than from the **Times**, I feel that the quality was higher—I know that the response thus far has been better, measured from the point of view of sales per inquiry. I enjoy doing business with GUARDIAN readers.

**Ted Rowland**

### Memorial tribute

NEW YORK, N.Y.

On May 28 my wife, Sonia, died in London suddenly after visiting her sister and making a tour of the U.S.S.R.

She was 62 years old and for all our 40 years together she was my inspiration in working for progressive causes. She had been very active in Russian War Relief, the National Council for American Soviet Friendship, and the Spanish Refugee Committee, and she could never refuse to help all of our causes.

**R. S. Resika**

### Rovere defended

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I was unpleasantly surprised by Charles Humboldt's adversely critical remarks in the June 28 Spectator on the Italian film **General della Rovere.**

This is not only a great anti-fascist film, but is of universal appeal in its illumination of emotions, in its portrayal of the moral regeneration of a petty crook and collaborator through the love of others. **General della Rovere** was the finest picture I have seen in a long time, and I am sure most GUARDIAN readers would agree.

**Rhoda Beck**

### Peace Conference

LONG ISLAND CITY, N.Y.

The Japanese Federation of Women's Organizations writes:

"We are glad to know by your letter that a Provisional Committee for American Cooperation with the Japan Council Against the A & H Bomb was organized. We are much afraid that President John F. Kennedy will not give up war policy, judging from the invasion of Cuba. But we believe the people of the U.S.A. who love peace will rescue the conscience of the U.S. Your Provisional Committee is good evidence of the conscience of the American people."

The 7th World Peace Conference of the Japan Council Against the A & H Bombs will be held in Japan at Tokyo on the anniversary of Hiroshima, August 6-14. All organizations and individuals are invited to send messages of greeting. Address: 7-12 Shiba-Simbabashi, Minato-ku, Tokyo, Japan.

**Jeanette S. Turner**

### News from jails

ITHACA, N.Y.

The Jackson Freedom Riders are being held incommunicado for all practical purposes. Their friends have difficulty communicating with them. Some of them have been, at last reports, on a hunger strike. But the administration of injustice in Jackson is very efficient, and very little news gets out. I am pleased to see that the GUARDIAN has some news on the Freedom Riders, but I wish that there was more news on the unfair treatment of those who were in jail.

**Peter L. Gale**

Belsky in the London Daily Herald
**"Yeah, that one was for gallant defensive action in Holy Loch."**

### Data on Negroes

CHICAGO, ILL.

I plan to issue a bulletin several times a year on American Negro and African history. Subscription to it will be free and interested persons are invited to subscribe by making a request for the bulletin at the address below.

From time to time I will issue booklets and brochures on some aspect of Negro or African history. These will go out to all subscribers. They (most likely) will be biographies and will also have illustrations. The bulletin will be suitable for teen-agers, (high-school level) as well as adults. I also plan to send out suitable pictures in these fields. The history in these two fields has been greatly neglected and the little that has reached Americans has been distorted.

Now available: A brochure on the founder of Chicago, a French Negro from Haiti, Jean Baptist Pointe DuSable.

**Eugene Feldman**
**1762 N. Clark St.**
**Chicago, Ill.**

### Youths speak up

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

At the 21st annual Model Congress held at Brooklyn College, participated in by high schools in Brooklyn, Queens and Staten Island, results of importance were (1) a resolution to recognize the People's Republic of China and urge its admission to the UN; (2) a bill to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Committee. Each passed by an overwhelming majority.

**Gerald Bornstein**

### How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

GLENDALE — The first-grade textbooks "Everybody Eats" and "Everybody Has a House" have been cleared of any suspicions they are subversive. School officials said a visitor to a school board meeting said that, judging from the books' titles, there may be some un-American influence about them. Upon checking it was discovered that the books are merely first-grade readers with stories of interest to 7-year olds, the officials reported.

—Los Angeles **Times**, June 18

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: L. K., Burbank, Calif.

## Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

A MADISON, WIS., **Capital Times** reporter sallied forth on Independence Day with a "petition" consisting exclusively of excerpts from the Declaration of Independence and Bill of Rights. Of 112 persons he asked to sign it, 111 refused; 20 asked the reporter if he was a communist. Said one: "You can't get me to sign that—I'm trying to get loyalty clearance for a government job." Said a woman who was "waiting for the fireworks," after reading the text: "This may be the Russian Declaration of Independence, but you can't tell me it is ours." Said an elderly man: "I see you are using an old commie trick, putting God's name on a radical petition."

Wentworth A. Millar, an insurance salesman, was the lone Madisonian willing to endorse the Declaration of Independence with his signature.

**—From the National Guardian, July 11, 1961**

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REPORT TO READERS

# Mercy, belated

THE QUALITY OF MERCY, the Bard said, is twice-blessed: it blesseth him that gives and him that receives. So President Kennedy earned a blessing on June 30 for freeing Henry Winston, the prison-blinded Smith Act victim of the first Foley Square trials in 1949. For Winston, the blessing is that he is returning to the care and love of a devoted family for the guidance which he will need through the rest of his life, thanks to the callousness and neglect of administrators of a prison to which he never should have been sent in the first place.

A Supreme Court decision in 1951 affirmed the kangaroo proceedings under which Winston and ten other Communist leaders were convicted in 1949. When the time came to go to jail Winston and three others—Gil Green, Gus Hall and Robert Thompson—became fugitives from injustice. Hall and Thompson were caught, served their time and are now free, as are all of those imprisoned in 1951. Winston and Green surrendered in 1956 and were sentenced to an additional three years each for "contempt of court" in failing to surrender for imprisonment when the Supreme Court ruled against them. The extra three years each, on top of the original five-year sentences, constituted an unprecedented punishment. The Supreme Court upheld that, too.

JUSTICE BLACK, in his dissent from the 1951 decision of the Court, hoped that in calmer times "this or some later Court will restore the First Amendment liberties to the high preferred place where they belong in a free society."

Black's hopes are still too high for the times, but even as Winston went to jail Appeals Court Judge William Hastie, in a dissent on the Pennsylvania Smith Act cases, declared that on the evidence presented, the cases should never have been permitted to go to a jury. And by 1957-58, Judge Hastie's dissent had become the basis for the Supreme Court reversal of both the Pennsylvania and California cases. And although the troglodyte Justice Dept. is still seeking Smith Act convictions, in the Denver case, for example, the Supreme Court had in effect reversed its stand of 1951.

So Winston and Green should have been freed then. They were not. As early as 1958, Winston showed signs of physical deterioration. Prison doctors accused him of malingering, and prescribed aspirin. Ultimately he became paralyzed and, after a determined fight by his counsel, John J. Abt, and his family, was transferred to a public hospital in New York and operated on for a brain tumor. He came out of the operation still paralyzed and blind.

When he had recovered the use of his limbs (but not his eyes, which will be sightless forever), he was returned to Federal prison at Danbury, Conn.—at least nearer his family than Terre Haute, Ind., his first prison. But no fewer than seven parole pleas were rejected, and appeals for clemency during the Eisenhower presidency never got past the Justice Dept.'s Pardons Attorney.

SO PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S action merits deep appreciation from all advocates of justice and executive clemency. The Justice Dept. accompanied the news of Winston's liberation with the statement that the President had acted because Winston was blind and faced possible surgery for a brain tumor. But properly, on the basis of 1957-58 Supreme Court reappraisals of the Smith Act proceedings in later cases, which followed precisely the tactics used to convict the original 11, President Kennedy should free Gil Green also; and should direct his brother the Attorney General to quash all pending Smith Act actions.

ONE WONDERS whether the Winston Case was called to the President's attention through Dept. of Justice channels, or because Fidel Castro offered to exchange three of the arch-criminals captured in the happily scuttled invasion for three U.S. political prisoners—Winston, Pedro Albizu Campos of Puerto Rico, and Francisco Molina, the Fidelist who was convicted on the perjuries of a Batista gangster of the fatal shooting of a child in a brawl precipitated by Batistianos during Premier Castro's UN visit last fall. On June 30, Molina was sentenced to from 20 years to life imprisonment; his defense is appealing.

Without urging from Fidel Castro, President Kennedy should now free the aging, ailing Puerto Rican Nationalist leader, whose only crime is an all-surpassing love of his subjected island. Molina is out of the President's reach, being a New York State case for now. But if he wants at least one of the invasion ringleaders back without surrendering a tractor, he could probably make a deal with the Tammany District Attorney.

**—THE GUARDIAN**

# The Angola revolt

*(Continued from Page 1)*

sands of Angolans; one officer estimated that his forces "have killed 30,000 of these 'animals'," and added: "We intend killing . . . probably another 100,000 working with the terrorists."

Angolan resistance has been growing despite all the measures Portugal and its allies in Africa have taken to crush it. Lisbon had heavily fortified such Congo-Angola and Rhodes-Angola border posts as Teixeira de Souza, Noqui, Marquela do Zombo and Macolo, built military airfields there and poured in Portuguese troops. Last year the government arrested Agostinho Neto, first president of the MPLA; Father Pinto de Andrade, chancellor of the Archbishopric of Luanda, an executive council member of the African Society of Culture and brother of Mario de Andrade, and many others. Portuguese forces have napalm-bombed whole villages with their populations into oblivion. But still the revolt has spread not only within Angola but in other Portuguese African colonies.

**MOZAMBIQUE PLEA:** Recent reports indicate the Angolan situation is being duplicated in Mozambique. In April the Mozambique National Democratic Movement sent out of the country through underground channels an appeal to ra-

dio stations all over the world to transmit a message addressed to the UN General Assembly. The message said Portuguese administrators in Mozambique were daily arresting hundreds of African and Colored men, women and children in Lourenco Marques, Beira, Nampula, Quelimane and in villages in the interior. It charged "massacres of African laborers last month on cotton, sisal and sugar plantations at Mueda, Vila, Cabral, Milange and Xinavane by Portuguese troops." The message asked "immediate intervention by UN troops" and concluded by saying:

"Black and white can live together in harmony in this country but we need to extirpate colonialism and racism practiced directly and indirectly by the Salazar regime."

In Mozambique, too, Portugal tried vainly to prevent upheavals. Troops were increased. Portuguese police collaborated with neighboring Rhodesian and South African police. Nevertheless, many Africans escaped from Mozambique into Tanganyika and into Guinea. Mozambique exiles in Tanganyika set up a liberation committee under protection of Julius Nyerere's ruling government party, the Tanganyika African National Union. Exiles in Conakry are cooperating with the MPLA.

**THE BACKGROUND:** There are strong reasons why Portugal is determined to hang on to its African colonies and why it is supported by NATO allies and Rhodesia and South Africa. Portuguese settlers profit by the forced labor of Africans. The Africans are exported to the Rhodesian and South African mines to work for a pittance, and even must pay taxes at home to avoid penalties on families left behind. In Mozambique, the richest land is reserved for Europeans; in Angola, the best coffee-growing land is in settler hands, but it is worked by forced labor. In San Tome, all coffee- and cocoa-growing land is owned by Europeans. Some of the plantations are huge; the Companhia Angolana de Agricultura, for instance, owns 550,000 acres, much of it growing coffee. And on the land the Africans retain, they are forced

**THIS SLAVE LABOR PAYS OFF—FOR THE PORTUGUESE**
*But the Angolans' battle for freedom is spreading*

to grow cotton—as in Angola and Mozambique—or peanuts—as in Portuguese Guinea—and sell them cheaply to Europeans.

The Angola Diamond Co. is an offshoot of the British De Beers Co., and has American, Belgian and other partners. The Lobito Railways in Angola is British-owned. Belgians, British and Americans jointly exploit Angolan oil. There are other interlocking interests: The diamond belt straddles Angola and the Congo; the riches of Katanga in the Congo flow through the port of Bengala; almost 90% of the foreign trade of the Central African Federation (including the Rhodesias) is sluiced through Beira and Lourenco Marques, which handles 10,000,000 tons of cargo a year. West Germany is trying to get on the gravy train through the Krupp mining interests, seeking south Angola's iron ore.

**SETTLERS PANIC:** But the gravy train is not running smoothly. Panicky settlers have been attempting to leave in such numbers that the Portuguese government has put up posters exhorting them. "Show your gratitude; to leave at this hour is treason." Investment is at a standstill.

Portuguese economy hangs precariously on the gathering of the coffee crop, which is under way and must be finished by August. Angolans who have fled, been massacred or resettled for security purposes have left a labor shortage, but the government is using a labor draft. Even after harvesting, transportation of the crop will be perilous. It is dependent on a single 170-mile-long road from Carmona to Marquela do Zombo, and much of this road is now in the hands of Angolan rebels. There were reports in Conakry that Portuguese troops have launched a major offensive to recapture some north Angolan villages and have cracked down on resisting plantation workers near Carmona.

**AFRO-ASIAN FRIENDS:** Portugal has the support of its NATO allies, but Angolan rebels are not without friends. The secretariat of the Afro-Asian solidarity conference declared the week of June 23-29 Angola Week. The national political bureau of Guinean President Sekou Toure's Democratic Party on June 10 condemned "the action of extermination by the Portuguese army in Angola" and appealed to Afro-Asian nations to take measures to halt this action. The Ghana government has expressed support for Angolan freedom.

Discussions with MPLA President de Andrade, Secy. Gen. Amilcar Cabral of the Partido Africano da Independencia da Guiné and others in Conakry made it clear that the Angolan liberation movement lacks unity. The two strongest parties in Angola are the MPLA and Holden Roberto's Uniao das Populacoes de Angola. Roberto is working from Leopoldville in the Congo and Andrade from Conakry. UPA forces within Angola are larger and have access to more arms and money than the MPLA forces, but the MPLA has better political understanding and a program that goes beyond defeat of Portuguese troops. The belief is gaining ground in West Africa that behind Roberto stands Joseph Kasavubu and behind Kasavubu stands the U.S.

There is no open conflict between the MPLA and the UPA, but no close cooperation either. At the Casablanca conference of last April 18-20, representatives of 12 political parties from Angola, Portuguese Guinea, Cape Verde, San Tome, Mozambique, Principe, and Goa, meeting under chairmanship of Andrade, agreed to a common program. Roberto's group was not represented.

**THE PROGRAM:** The MPLA's immediate program calls for "creation of an Angolan Liberation Front composed of all existing popular movements, parties and organizations"; "the liquidation of the Portuguese colonial system by all possible means"; and alliance with progressive forces all over the world to obtain broad support for Angolan liberation.

The long-range program calls for establishment of a democratic government, abolition of all privileges the colonial regime had granted to the Portuguese and other foreigners, support for the freedom struggle of other Africans, revision of agreements by which Portugal has committed Angola, and a planned economic development for the benefit of farmers, workers and all Angolans.

In the discussions at the Andrades' bungalow, everyone agreed no compromise would be acceptable to any Angolans. To the Angolan patriots the UN resolution was shocking because it implied that the Western powers seek only reforms in Angola and, as Andrade said, "how can anyone expect a Portuguese government which is unregenerate at home to initiate reforms in a colony?" The consensus was that the acceptable minimum would be total withdrawal of Portuguese influences—military, political and economic—and an opportunity for Angolans to decide their future themselves.

# Campus freedom

*(Continued from Page 1)*

Kerr, who had said when he refused to ban a speech by Wilkinson: "The university is not engaged in making ideas safe for students. It is engaged in making students safe for ideas. Thus, it permits the freest expresssion of views before students, trusting to their good sense in passing judgment on the views."

**REPERCUSSIONS:** Mandel had been among those subpenaed by HUAC at the San Francisco hearings. The ban on his talk at Ohio State reflected right-wing pressure on that university, since his announced topic was an analysis of the distortions in "Operation Abolition." The ban had repercussions in Nebraska as well as California. Nebraska's Wayne State Teachers College withdrew the appointment of English instructor Henry St. Onge, who had been instrumental in extending the invitation to Mandel and who later invited Mandel to speak at his home when the university banned him.

Conrad in the Denver Post
**"Politics is fascinating, don't you think?"**

An interesting aspect of the SLATE case was the timing of the suspension and a report by the California Senate Fact-finding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities, which called SLATE a "transmission belt" for Communist propaganda. SLATE was suspended on June 10; the report was made public on June 13, but it had been sent to the press and the university on June 8. The university denied the report had anything to do with the order, which it says was decided upon on June 6.

**ONE STUDENT:** In a June 13 story on the report, the San Francisco **Chronicle** said the Senate committee had charged that campus freedom had "opened the gates" to subversive influence. The story added: "The report named one student of the more than 20,000 on the Berkeley campus as a Communist."

The bulk of the Senate report was on SLATE, which it said had gained indirect control of the student newspaper and was the medium through which the HUAC picketing was organized.

The report said leadership "usually comes from a family in which the parents are already dedicated Communists or Marxian revolutionaries" and named Patrick Hallinan, son of Vincent Hallinan, Progressive Party presidential candidate in 1952, and Carey McWilliams Jr., son of the editor of **The Nation**, as examples. The report also cited Douglas Wachter, the one student who was subpenaed for the San Francisco hearings, and said he was not a formal member of SLATE, but active in its affairs. It said his father, Saul Wachter, also subpenaed, was among the Communists "picked" to provoke incidents at the hearings.

**KERR CRITICIZED:** President Kerr was commended in the report for prohibiting SLATE from engaging in off-campus activities, but his granting of permission to distribute literature was criticized as "capitulation to the ACLU."

In a statement on the report, Kerr outlined principles for UC. Among them were: (1) Freedom to speak and to hear is maintained for students and faculty members; (2) Subversion and other illegal activities are not tolerated and we will not employ a Communist."

The announcement of SLATE's suspension had come just before the class of '61 marched into the stadium for commencement. Kerr, in his address, commended the students for their shift from "apparent apathy and conformity" to their present "concern for social equality and intellectual liberty."

## Scales begins term as Smith Act victim

JUNIUS I. SCALES surrendered to a Federal District Court in Greensboro, N.C., on Sunday, July 2, to start serving a six-year term as the first person to go to prison under the membership clause of the Smith Act.

Scales' conviction was upheld by the Supreme Court on June 5. The Court refused on June 19 to reconsider its action.

Legal and other steps to obtain Scales' release will continue. Contributions may be sent to Mrs. Gladys Scales, 90 La Salle Ave., New York 27.

KENNEDY VISIT A FLOP ON THE BIG ISSUES

# Opposition to U.S. policies is a vote-getter in Canada

By Bill Deverell
Special to the Guardian

SASKATOON, SASK.

CANADA'S POLITICAL parties have already begun jockeying for position for a Federal election campaign expected next year—and the United States will probably be a chief issue.

Prime Minister John Diefenbaker is expected to dust off his Progressive Conservative Party's "Canada first" political plank, Liberal leader Lester Pearson will offer warmed-over quasi-neutrality and the social-democratic New Party may propose complete withdrawal from U.S.-dominated military alliances.

Anti-Americanism wins votes in Canada. It's a hesitant, almost frightened kind of anti-Americanism. And while Canadian politicians bravely wave the flag of Canadian independence, behind the puppet show lies the hard fact that Canadian and U.S. economies are firmly interlocked. Much of the increasing anti-Yankee feeling in Canada is resentment over U.S. economic domination.

Recently published figures show that 51% of Canada's manufacturing business is foreign-owned.

**CHINA DEAL:** Other factors are also increasing Canadian antipathy to the U.S. The major one involves a $425,600,000 contract made this year with the People's Republic of China. The deal represents one of the largest grain sales made in the history of Canada.

Over the three years 1961 to 1963, Canada will sell China 217,000,000 bushels of wheat and 58,800,000 bushels of barley.

As a result of the deal, which comes at a time when the farm economy is faltering and when millions of bushels of wheat are lying in surplus stockpiles, Canada will almost certainly refuse to stand with the U.S. when Adlai Stevenson votes against China recognition at this fall's UN General Assembly session.

Howard Green, External Affairs Minister, told the House of Commons May 3 that the grain sale "might be one" of many factors in Canadian consideration of recognition of China and its admission to the UN. The government finds it difficult to follow a policy denying the existence of a government which may have rescued Canada from agricultural crisis. An embarrassing aspect is that the sale is on credit.

**KENNEDY VISIT:** President Kennedy may have discussed the wheat deal with Diefenbaker during the President's visit to Ottawa May 16-18, but he gave no indication of what he thought. At a reception, Kennedy asked a reporter how Western Canadian farmers felt about the Canadian sale to China.

"I told him they seemed to be happy about it," said reporter Robert Moon. "I said it should help reduce the surplus.

"He looked at me intently . . ."

Stories have been appearing recently about American-owned flour mills in Canada being prevented from participating in flour shipments to China. The Prime Minister says he has found no support for the reports.

But there's no doubt about the diplomatic about-face executed by the U.S. government June 8 following a decision of its Treasury to bar export to Canada of grain-handling equipment for tankers hauling Canadian grain to China. The Treasury was overruled after protests erupted across Canada, and Washington decided to "make an exception." The equipment, grain suction apparatus, was necessary to unload grain at Chinese ports and could not be obtained elsewhere than the U.S.

**CUBA POLICIES:** A second major reason for the trend toward independent international policies was the U.S.-backed invasion of Cuba. There are few persons in Canada willing to play ball with Kennedy in that kind of game.

The debacle may also have some bearing on Canada's refusal to join the Organization of American States—despite Kennedy's entreaties during his visit. Another factor in Canada's lack of interest in OAS is that Canada doesn't have the same kind of economic holdings in Latin America as the U.S.

The Canadian government, since the Cuban invasion, has announced it will not change its policies of continued recognition of Cuba and expanding trade with that nation.

U.S. authorities were upset when Canada refused to join the economic boycott against Cuba. The Canadian Press a few months ago reported one U.S. official as saying Canada seems to be more interested "in making a few bucks than in thwarting the Reds in the Caribbean."

Anti-Canadian feeling (among some U.S. newspapers and among counter-revolutionary Cubans) hit a peak last December, when Cuban exiles picketed the Canadian embassy in Washington.

**TRADE GROWING:** Canada has begun to make a few bucks, but not fast bucks. In fact total sales to Cuba in 1960 were the lowest in 12 years—only $13,079,000 compared with $15,222,000 in 1959. However, trade is gradually growing. Big increases in exports followed the U.S. embargo of last winter. This year's sales in January reached $2,150,000, compared with $2,318,000 during the first three months of 1960. The Cuban government announced this week it has budgeted $21,653,000 for Canadian imports this year.

Livestock and poultry sales compose the biggest item in planned 1961 sales. Industrial raw materials and electrical parts are also being sold in quantity.

**VISIT A BUST:** Following the Cuban invasion, Kennedy stock on the popularity market dropped, as far as Canadians were concerned. It is believed one purpose of the President's visit to Ottawa was to shore up his position.

Nobody wants to admit it, but the Kennedy visit was a bust. He came to Canada empty-handed (except for a few heroic phrases) and left empty-handed, without having won the Canadian government over to many of his international policies. He asked Canada:

- To increase "foreign aid." Diefenbaker made no commitment.
- To expand military spending and NATO operations. He received a polite "No thank you."
- To join OAS. No dice.
- To accept nuclear weapons on U.S. terms. Diefenbaker rejected this, insisting on joint U.S.-Canadian control.

**NUCLEAR ISSUE:** The nuclear weapon question is expected to be a major election issue next year. The Liberals and New Party oppose Canadian acquisition of atomic weapons, but the Conservatives are split. Defense Minister Douglas Harkness would accept their weapons on any terms. External Affairs Minister Green opposes them. Diefenbaker is on a midway line.

A strong anti-nuclear weapons group in Canada is circulating a country-wide petition opposing nuclear arms for Canada.

The Conservatives will probably take no action this year on joining the nuclear club because the move could become a dangerous election issue. The governing party will be working hard between now and next year patching up its political machine. In the last set of Federal by-elections, May 29, the Conservatives won three of four Conservative seats at stake, but gained only 42% of the total vote compared with the Liberals' 43%. One New Party candidate ran, finishing a close third in his constituency.

Macpherson in the Toronto Star

FORMER EXECUTIVE ON DAILY WORKER

# Alan Max, ex-editor, dies

ALAN MAX, managing editor of the **Daily Worker** until it ceased publication in January, 1958, died of a brain tumor in New York City on Monday, June 26. He was 54.

Max was born in New York City and was graduated from Columbia University with a B.A. degree in 1927. He received an M.A. degree from Harvard in 1928 and was a member of Phi Beta Kappa.

He became interested in the progressive movement when he went as a free lance writer to Harlan County, Ky., during the bitter coal strike in 1931.

Early in the Depression he went to Seattle as an organizer for the National Unemployed Council. He and an associate led several large demonstrations, during one of which a group of unemployed occupied the Washington State Capitol at Olympia overnight.

Max was a founder of the **Western Worker** in San Francisco in the early Thirties. The paper is still published as the weekly **People's World.**

After a spell as Washington, D.C., correspondent for the **Daily Worker,** Max transferred to the home office of the paper in New York City in 1939. In 1942 he was named assistant managing editor and became managing editor in 1945 with the departure of Louis Budenz. He held that position until the paper's daily edition closed down in 1958, when he resigned.

Max wrote several short stories and plays, one of which, **Mission to Athens,** was produced by off-Broadway groups.

He took as his personal credo a quotation from Eugene V. Debs: "I want to rise with the ranks, not from them."

He is survived by his wife and three children.

**An exclusive report from Africa**

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A NEW VOICE FOR PEACE, FROM A NEW TYPE OF SCHOOL

# *Lesson in democracy: Cuba's youth speak up*

By Cedric Belfrage

HAVANA

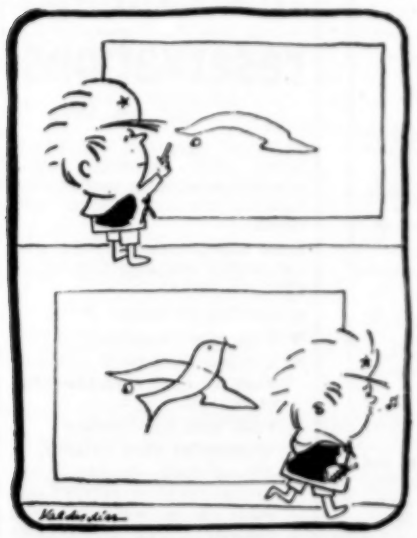
TOWARD THE END of World War I it occurred to a humble Welsh minister, Rev. Gwilym Davies, that the young people who had been engaged in mutual slaughter for four years bore each other no grudge, but had never had a chance to say so. In 1922 he arranged for the children of Wales to send out a message of peace and goodwill by the miracle of "wireless." Silence greeted the message in that year and the next; but from 1924 on the replies multiplied, and soon radio networks of five continents were broadcasting the exchange of children's goodwill messages.

In 1939, soon after what had then become International Children's Goodwill Day (May 18, anniversary of the first Hague peace conference, 1899) the youth were sent to slaughter again; but in 1946 Rev. Davies resumed his annual efforts via the British Broadcasting Co.'s world-girdling facilities. Since his death in 1955, his widow has carried on against the background of cold war and mounting atomic peril to humanity.

With the Soviet message as a notable exception, last year's replies from dozens of participating countries showed few signs of discussion among the children themselves as to the causes of war and the means of securing peace. This year, a new voice from the Carribean gave exciting evidence of the wisdom children can bring to the problem, when they get the chance to talk it out in an uncorrupted atmosphere.

**COMMITTEE SET:** This is what happened in Cuba. In Camilo Cienfuegos School City—named after the revolution's most beloved martyr, located in the Sierra Maestra where Fidel unfurled the banner of freedom—the 500 students aged 7 to 17 met and voted to undertake Cuba's reply to the Welsh children. Eight boys were elected to draft messages, which were then discussed in the co-operatives into which the school is divided.

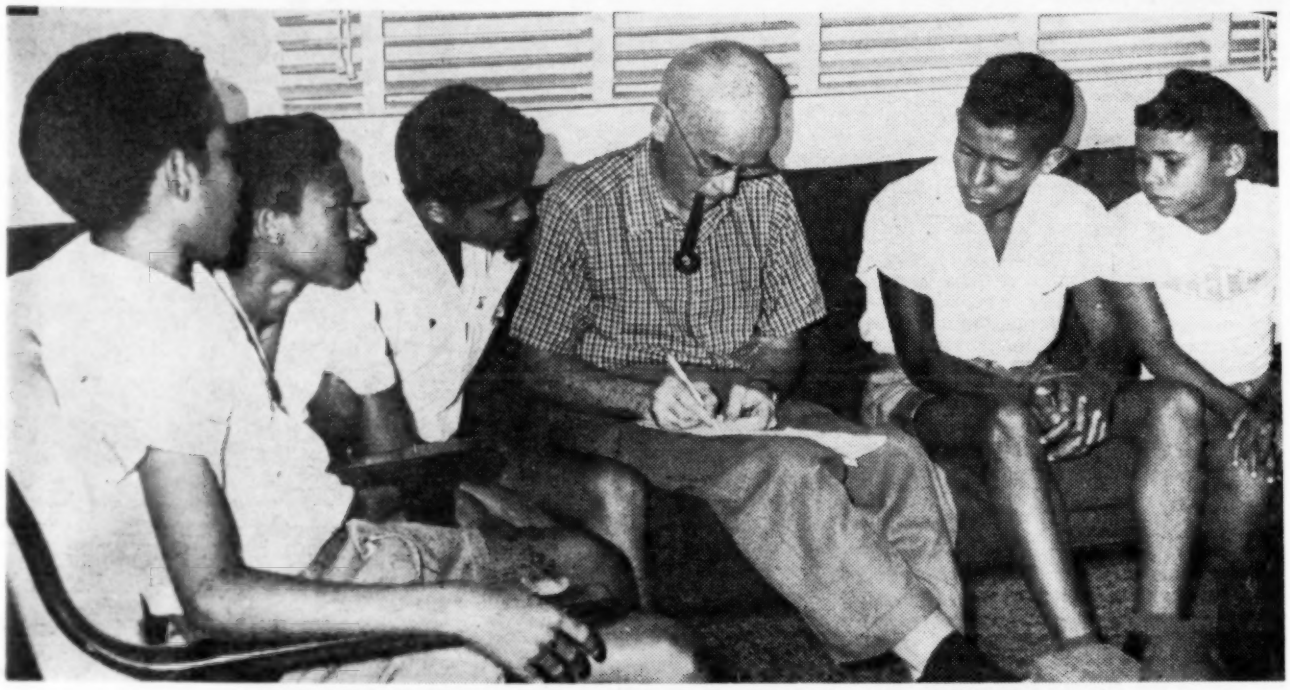
I have visited the school, and if there is any more positively directed toward the ways of peace I have not heard of it. About 7,000 Revolutionary Army men are stationed there. The task of these soldiers



Valdes Diaz in Bohemia, Havana
**Peace and the map of Cuba**

for peace—aided by young volunteers from 45 countries, whose presence has done so much to internationalize the students' thinking—is to build up the school to its planned 20,000-student capacity. The school has no employes, the Camillitos themselves operating the plant and producing most of their food on its farmland.

All eight of the Camilitos who flew into Havana to broadcast for peace were, up to a year ago, illiterate. They came from poor families of the Sierra Maestra, before the revolution the most neglected region of Cuba. Five of them have parents who are only now learning to read and write in the island-wide "alphabetization" drive.



**THE CAMILITOS TELL THEIR STORY OF DISCUSSIONS AND DECISIONS**
*The lineup: Lazaro, Mauricio, Hilario, Cedric Belfrage, Bernado and Antoliano*

**NOT NERVOUS:** The inaccuracy of "literacy" as a standard for judging people was a lesson I had already learned; yet I was amazed by these kids. Dr. Roberto Noy Bolanos, the young militia-uniformed principal of the school who accompanied them, told me the average Camilito took less than three months to master reading and writing. And even the youngest of the eight, Antoliano Espina, 12, and Euclides Maceo, 13, faced their first radio microphones with only traces of nervousness—likewise their first TV cameras in a subsequent hour-long interview.

Expressing their wish for peace, they clothed it with reality by making the connection between war and systems of government. (Several, of course, referred to the recent aggression from a country with a different system.) Cuba was joining in the peace call for the first time, said Lazaro Atencio, 15, because it was "emerging from the backwardness in which it was held by a system that did not resolve our basic problems." It was because Cuba had "put an end to all forms of exploitation, turned huge private landholdings into people's cooperatives and barracks into schools," that its children could now speak out, said Julius Abad, 14. Cubans were proud of their democratic and socialist revolution as an active contribution to peace, said Mauricio Acosta, 15. And Hilario Caballero, 15, wound up with an invitation to the youth of all lands, including the U.S., to come and see this for themselves.

To what extent the sponsors of the politely phrased, "uncontroversial" message from Wales may have been startled by such a response, nobody here knows. But these children simply have not been exposed to the "civilized" arts of evasion and hypocrisy: they know what they think and say what they mean. They are not afraid of accusations that their messages are "political," because their "politics" comes out of their own experience. My questions as to whether they had any political instruction at school, and whether their teachers had any part in preparing the messages, elicited clamorous "Nos" from all eight.

**ROLE IN REVOLT:** The Camilitos sharpen up their political wits in evening gabfests among themselves, often based on the talk about some newspaper or TV item which they elect one of their number to make at each morning's flag-raising ceremony. Dr. Noy's only complaint about them is that they want to go on studying and discussing the way of the world long after the 9 o'clock bedtime hour.

"Of course," said the Antoliano, the others nodding agreement, "we all know Fidel and Raul and 'el Che' (Guevara) personally and have listened to them talking about these things. They stayed in our homes during the Sierra Maestra campaign, and we small ones learned in those days how to act the fool with Batista's 'casquitos' and send them on a wild-goose chase to the wrong place. Hilario here was fighting with Raul—he was 12 then—and became a rebel Army captain. Last time I and some other kids were in Havana, we stayed at Fidel's house . . ."

I asked: "What opinions were expressed in your cooperative discussions of the Welsh message?"

"Well—we liked it right off because they had been concerned for so long about friendship and peace, and we got talking about the development of communications between different places from the invention of the wheel to the radio and TV." But one thing the Camilitos didn't care for was the addressing of the message to "the boys and girls of the world." Said Mario Lino Osoria, 14: "Why should children be divided up in that way? We don't think differently about peace because we happen to be boys or girls. It's true there are no girls in our school now, but that's only because the accommodations aren't ready for them yet. Separating girls and boys in different schools or in children's messages doesn't make much sense to us."

**SEMANTIC SNAG:** The words "goodwill" and "good-neighbor" in the Welsh message "bothered us a bit," said Bernardo Montero, 15, "because it was just with those words that the Yanquis undertook their ruthless exploitation of the other peoples of our continent."

The Welsh message's sincerity could not be questioned, all the eight agreed, because "no matter how unfriendly relations may be between governments, how can children have any responsibility for it?" With this in mind the Camilitos long ago started their own "goodwill department" at the school, with systematic letter-writing to children in France, China, Japan, the U.S.S.R., the U.S., Costa Rica, Ecuador and many other lands. "But," said Lazaro, "the letters to the U.S., addressed to the children of different schools there, all come back unopened, 'return to sender.' We don't write anything political, just tell them about our school and invite them to visit us. We get the best results on the whole from socialist countries . . ." I asked innocently how they made out with communist countries and several kids answered simultaneously: "There aren't any. That's a later stage after socialism."

According to their eight spokesmen, every one of the 500 Camilitos is a socialist and "has enough experience of his own to make him one, without anybody having to preach it: We just think all children everywhere should be equal." The Revolutionary Army men are there "building for their own children" on continuous 12-hour shifts, and the daily contact with them creates special sympathy among Camilitos for countries where the popular struggle against colonialism still remains to be won. Visitors from the school from colonial Africa are especially welcomed, and Lumumba's name has an honored martyr's place.

**30,000 RESIDENTS:** When all the work is finished, 20,000 of Cuba's formerly most neglected children will be living and studying there under the most modern conditions. There will be hotel accommodations for 9,000 parents and relatives on a continuous round of visits—bringing the normal population to 30,000 with the teachers.

Will they all be socialists? "Well," said Lazaro, "I can tell you that there's no counter-revolutionary problem among the parents of our kids. There were scattered counter-revolutionaries in the Sierra Maestra, but our District Commander solved that by inviting them all to dinner at the school. They all went home convinced except eight who stayed on for further education . . ."

I asked the Camilitos this question: "If it hadn't been for the revolution, what sort of life would you have now?"

**"Claro,"** said Antoliano, "we would have no school, not even a hut . . ."

". . . We'd be existing on roots and a little rice," said Mario.

". . . Drinking sugar-water from the canes that grow by the paths," said Mauricio.

". . . Going down to the sea to boil water for salt," said Julius.

". . . If our parents tried to develop a little piece of mountain land," said Hilario, "the latifundista would come and take it away . . ."

"We would have no shoes," said Bernardo, and Euclides added. "My family would still be living in a cave . . ."

It was left to Lazaro to sum it up. "If it hadn't been for the revolution," he said, "many of us would not be socialists, because many of us would be dead."

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# Meany's cold war

(Continued from Page 1)

fizzled.

- Discrimination against Negroes in unions persists. It has caused a wide breach between labor and the civil rights movement.
- Labor's voice in Washington dwindled to a whisper during the Eisenhower Administration. But it has not gained much strength under President Kennedy. Social legislation is thwarted in Congress and from Administration officials there have been increasing appeals against wage increases that will cause "inflation."

**JOBS DWINDLE:** Most of labor's agonies turn on its inability to halt increasing unemployment. Automation has taken its heaviest toll in industries which are heavily organized. The AFL-CIO has found no way to save jobs, either over the bargaining table or through legislation. In fact, it has no program. Many unions have called for the shorter work week as a means of preserving jobs but none has made a fight during negotiations. Some feel they cannot win alone and they hope for Congressional action to reduce the work week, or for a nationwide union fight.

The increasing frequency of recessions has intensified the problem. As each recession ebbs it takes away with it as many as a million jobs. Although industry asserts the current recession is over, as of June the unemployment rate was about 7%—or 5,500,000 persons.

**UNION RAIDS:** Membership in AFL-CIO unions has been in constant decline since the 1955 merger. There were 15,000,000 members at the time of merger; now there are 12,500,000.

Faced with a shrinking work force, unions have preferred to raid each other for members. A no-raiding policy has been openly flouted. Plans for settling jurisdictional questions within the federation have failed. Since 1959 the council has been trying to effect a plan for compulsory arbitration, but craft union leaders have found excuses for delays.

Industrial union leaders, led by Reuther, accuse Meany of siding with his craft union friends and recently presented him with a list of grievances. Few have been handled, but the recent council session moved to end one particularly dirty fight. Carrier Corp. employes in Syracuse, N.Y., were organized by the United Steel Workers, an industrial union, in January, 1960, after it won an NLRB election over the Sheet Metal Workers, a craft union.

Drawing by Fred Wright

**"Now doesn't it feel good when it stops?"**

**STRIKERS FIRED:** Two months later the Steel Workers called a strike, but soon all but 400 employes went back to work. The remaining strikers were fired. Technically the plant is still on strike, although it is operating normally.

Late last year the Sheet Metal Workers began an organizing campaign at the plant and last March it petitioned for an election. NLRB hearings have been held, but at the request of the AFL-CIO council, the board delayed decision.

At the recent council session Meany ordered the Sheet Metal union to end its organizing efforts at the plant. But the union had warned in advance that it would not stop. This will confront the council with a decision whether to take disciplinary action or risk intensified raiding.

**JIMCROW FIGHT:** Since 1959 Meany has been in open feud with the nation's Negro leaders, including AFL-CIO Vice President A. Philip Randolph, over jimcrow in labor. At the 1959 convention Randolph proposed an ultimatum to unions with color-bar provisions in their constitutions. Meany proposed to handle the problem in his own time and challenged Randolph with, "Who the hell appointed you spokesman for all the Negroes?" Since then Randolph organized the Negro American Labor Council to fight discrimination in unions. Special NAACP reports have listed specific jimcrow cases in labor. And Negro papers have openly criticized AFL-CIO policy.

At the council meeting in February, Randolph proposed a code of fair racial practices. He called on the federation to put the same energy in a drive against jimcrow as it had against "communism" and "corruption." But Meany ruled that the code had to be presented in writing in advance of the meeting.

Randolph was back again with the code in writing at the recent session. It called on the federation to (1) end segregated locals; (2) eliminate discrimination in apprentice-training programs; (3) appoint Negroes to policy-making positions in the AFL-CIO and in affiliated unions; and (4) reorganize the AFL-CIO civil rights department with a Negro as director. He proposed a six-month deadline for compliance by offending unions.

**NEW DELAY:** Randolph said he hoped the council would spend a day studying his proposals, but Meany turned it over to a three-man committee to report on at the October meeting. Randolph predicted that the delay would have "an adverse effect on the Negro public." But, he added, "I'll be back at the next executive council meeting to see that the [committee] report is complete and accurate."

The council also rejected Randolph's demand that the Virginia AFL-CIO be expelled for scheduling its August convention at a segregated hotel. Meany said he would "see if we could help eliminate discrimination problems" during the convention.

The council will meet again in October to prepare for a convention in December in Miami. Joseph Beirne, president of the Communications Workers, summed up the state of labor: "It is a matter of shame and sadness . . . that the AFL-CIO has not been able to rise to meet its opportunities."

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## Soviet Exhibition of Children's Books

A Soviet Exhibition of Children's Books, organized under the Soviet-American cultural exchange program, will be opened at July 7 at noon, at the Cleveland Public Library, 325 Superior Avenue, and run until July 27.

This exhibition was a great success in New York and also will be held in Denver in August. More than 2,000 books published by Soviet publishing houses, both fiction and non-fiction, by Soviet and American authors, will be on display.

You are welcome to visit the exhibition Mondays through Saturdays, from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m., and Sundays as follows: July 9, 16 and 23 from noon to 9 p.m.

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ONE OF THE REVELATIONS of the recent TV hearings is that TV has harmed those working in it as much as it has hurt those watching the set. Full-grown, educated and presumably intelligent men have been made into babbling idiots. Producer Ralph Nelson testified that during a TV staging of "The Andersonville Trial," a play about a Confederate stockade during the Civil War, "we were asked [by the sponsoring Chrysler Corp.] never to refer to the President of the United States' name, since it was the name of a rival car—so we did not." What would have happened if the play were about Lincoln being shot in Ford's Theater? . . . Leonard J. Kerpelman and Gerald Q. Hurwitz in Baltimore have organized the Birch Memorial Society to abolish the "socialistic" Post Office Dept. and to ban cola drinks. The organizers are quick to point out that their Birch is John Z. Birch, original brewer of birch beer, and that they want to memorialize "the beer he lived for." . . . Mrs. Sybil Parkes has been feeding seagulls and pigeons in the streets at Llandudno, England, where it is official policy to drive birds out. The kindly 75-year-old widow sets out each morning with a bag of corn and distributes it to the birds, which flock to her. But following protests by shopkeepers and hotel men, the local council's by-law committee tee started an investigation. Chairman Harry Allerton said: "We're looking into this very closely to see if she can be stopped under the Litter Act. If she can't, we may have to introduce a special by-law."

A RECENT LETTER to the GUARDIAN included a $17 unsolicited contribution which was duly deposited and acknowledged. Included was an explanatory note that the donor's daughter had been assigned in school to write an essay on "Communism—Our Greatest Enemy." The donor wrote: "In order to maintain her good scholastic standing, my daughter wrote a theme in her usual proficient style."

To the family's horror, the essay was awarded a prize—$17—by the local American Legion. The donor informed his daughter that she could not keep the money. Instead it was sent to the GUARDIAN so that it might be "the first time in history that the American Legion has made a financial contribution to the Guardian."

While the money was deeply appreciated and needed on E. 4th Street, it set off a discussion between the amateur psychologists and pediatricians in the office.

Should the father have permitted his daughter to keep her prize? Should she have decided where to donate her money? Should she have written the essay to begin with? These are some questions raised.

Other amateur advice-givers are invited to join the debate. Address opinions to Pediatric Section of the Gallery.

WASHINGTON MISSED OUT on quite a fireworks display on the eve of July 4 when the State Dept. decided in some haste to renew the passport of 5 ft., 1 in., 118-lb. Chicago attorney Theresa Ehrlich. Attorney Ehrlich applied June 5 for a renewal of her passport to take a vacation swing beginning July 20 to Czechoslovakia, Poland, U.S.S.R., India and Israel. She was told that her travel agent would have the document June 8 latest. When by June 15, despite some tart correspondence, the passport had not arrived, she got on the phone to Washington and found out that the State Dept. felt it had to "check some records" in her case. When she asked when she would get it, the State Dept. man said he didn't know. She gave him a deadline of June 19. When it didn't arrive on the 19th, she filed a motion in the District of Columbia ordering Dean Rusk into Federal court to state why not. Then, to cut short a possible 60-day delay, on June 27 she filed a petition for immediate relief returnable July 3—on which day she announced she would be in court in Washington represented by 11 prominent Chicago lawyers, and herself in a red, white and blue outfit with a Yankee Doodle toque, prepared to give Secy. Rusk an old-fashioned Independence Day roust. On June 29, airmail special, she got the passport and Dean Rusk got a breathing spell to deal with less freighted crises like Laos, Berlin and Cuba.

Vie Nuove, Roma

**"—Pardon me, is the war over?"**

—Robert E. Light

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BOOKS

# Peaceful genius

ALBERT EINSTEIN'S work towers above the landscape of modern physics, quite unmatched since the days of Newton. His magic name will stand for transcending genius in the speech of everyday, at least while we who knew him live. Now in a rich and absorbing book, **Einstein on Peace,*** beautifully compiled by Otto Nathan, an old friend of Einstein, and a colleague, Heinz Norden, we meet Einstein as a warm, modest, hopeful, witty, keen and persistent man, acting as best he could for the welfare of all mankind.

Here is the legacy of Einstein's thoughts and words in behalf of peace. Through the hundreds of letters, statements and diary notes march the issues of our time, seen by a man whose candor and insight, courage and wit match his magnificent scientific stature.

They are all here, our years. Begin with 1914, the dawn of World War I, which found Einstein the much-sought new young prize professor of the great University of Berlin. Just 35, with ten golden years behind him which no physicist has matched since the plague year Newton spent down from Cambridge in 1666, his worldly place was high. But success meant to him that his youthful ideals long and strongly held but never expressed in public, might now find a hearing.

A HANDFUL OF dissenters, of whom one was Einstein, circulated a manifesto to Europeans, within Prussian and war-making Germany. For want of signers, the matter was dropped. But the statement had set out to answer an earlier infamous manifesto in which **Kultur** was associated by 100 great German professors with the success of German arms.

At no small risk to themselves, these few called upon "men of education in all countries" to affirm their faith in an eventual European unity.

On the last healthy day of his life, in the context of a discussion of the relations between Israel and Europe, the old man, bowed with years and heaped with an extraordinary burden of public criticism and distant adulation mixed, wrote this: "The big problem in our time is the division of mankind into two hostile camps: The Communist World and the so-called Free World. Since the significance of the terms **Free** and **Communist** is in this context hardly clear to me, I prefer to speak of a power conflict between East and West, although the world being round, it is not even clear what precisely is meant by the terms **East** and **West.**"

In between stand forty years of concern for mankind. The years are well sampled here, in Einstein's words, augmented by the clear and helpful notes. The stage is the modern world, and across it move such persons as the Queen of Belgium, a lifelong friend of Einstein, and a good many poor students, not to speak of Freud, Croce, Barbusse, Rolland, FDR, Gorki, Gandhi and the rest. The chief actor was this lonely scientific worker, never once so much as a department head or a dean or even an adviser to statesmen, and yet always in action, always seeking with pen and voice to turn his extraordinary fame to the service of the "deep antipathy to every kind of cruelty and hatred" which he ascribed not to an intellectual theory but to an instinctive feeling.

NO REVIEW can be a substitute for this panorama of our years, and for the wise, clear, warm, humorous voice of its protagonist. But it can pose some questions to this man and his times which we can answer from the wealth of this book.

How did the pacifist Einstein, war resister in World War I, come to view the Third Reich? It was in the summer of 1933 at his seashore cottage in a little Belgian resort that he finally changed his mind. It went this way:

"Several years ago . . . I defended refusal of military service in about these words: 'I admit that for certain . . . tribes

in Africa, renunciation of war might involve the greatest danger, but it is altogether different with the civilized nations of Europe . . .' Since I made this statement, my views have not changed, but the European situation has—it has come closer to conditions in Africa. So long as Germany persists in rearming . . . for a war of revenge, the nations of Western Europe depend unfortunately on military defense . . ."

But he saw the essence of international events clearly enough, and wrote, in 1951:

" . . . in my opinion the present policy of the United States constitutes a more serious obstacle to peace in the world than that of Russia. The current fighting is in Korea, not Alaska. Russia is exposed to a vastly greater threat than the United States, and everyone knows it."

THERE IS ONE commonplace charge against this frank and clear-sighted man: That he was naive, a mere figurehead, a name easily won to support causes he only fuzzily understood, writing untidily from his dreamy eminence. When asked to support the 1952 Chinese and Korean charges of germ warfare by the U.S., he wrote:

"I could not make a statement that the validity of the allegations had in any way been proven to me . . . I am becoming even more skeptical because of the frequency of communications based on almost identical arguments that are being sent to me."

No, this was no doctrinaire idealist, no secretly committed man, no prey to easy suggestion or to flattery. He could be wrong, and he was forced to change with life. Appealing as his whole position of "antipathy to violence" is and remains, a detached observer might rightly assert that in such a stand after two great wars, in the face of the "massacre of my Jewish brethren," the man of peace who in exile helped make real the most terrible of all weapons was in some ways a prisoner of forces he did not really grasp. The interplay of power and policy was, for all his wisdom, something he never fully faced. But it is not for me to assess this man: Shall we ever see a better one?

The book is full of history: the death of Rathenau, the Scottsboro boys, the McCarthy committee, the H-bomb. Here is a timely note: Einstein in depression Havana, 1940:

"Revolution, but no visible sign of it. Crisis on account of falling cane sugar prices. Fine Spanish buildings. Academy, Geographic Society, always the same. Luxurious clubs side by side with naked poverty, mainly affecting the colored people . . ."

So it goes, unmatched in candor and humor among the writings of the great. The readers of the GUARDIAN will profit from this book, of course. But it is meant in these days for one set of people, those who are most important of all, the serious young graduates of school and college. This is the book to give the generation of the Freedom Riders, a book which makes the years of our aging lives come real, and which spells out page by winning page the most precious of truth—that a man can walk our earth so warm and stout in heart, so keen and clear of mind, as was Albert Einstein.

**—Philip Morrison**

**EINSTEIN ON PEACE, edited by Otto Nathan and Heinz Norden, preface by Bertrand Russell. Simon and Schuster, New York, 1960. XVI plus 704 pp. $3.95.*

## NEWSPAPER

### GBS Customers!

DURING the summer, while the **GUARDIAN** appears in an 8-page format, the Buying Service may occasionally have to give way to news stories. But we'll still be in business at the same old stand, ready to handle your orders for vitamins, cameras, dolls and whatnots.

## the SPECTATOR

# A film of postwar Poland

MUCH POSTWAR POLISH LITERATURE and cinema has endeavored to come to grips with the effects upon the younger generation of the class struggle which broke out immediately following the Red Army's liberation of the country from Nazi rule. Although a Provisional Government of National Unity had been established in the spring of 1945, terrorist groups operating under instructions from the London emigré government engaged in sabotage and murdered revolutionaries entrusted with the revival of the ruined cities and the countryside.

These bands were often composed of young men who had fought against the Nazis in the so-called Home Army and had taken part in the Warsaw (not the Ghetto) uprising. Their officers, supporters of the old regime, kept them attached to a lost cause by appealing to their supposedly imperiled religious faith and convincing them that the Soviet Union would assume the historic czarist role of oppressor of the Polish nation.

**ASSASSINS SERVING A LOST CAUSE**
*Adam Pawlikowski (left) and Zbigniew Cybulski in Polish film*

MACIEK, THE PROTAGONIST of Andrzej Wajda's impressive film **Ashes and Diamonds,** now playing at the Fifth Ave. cinema in New York, is assigned to murder the new secretary of the Communist Party of a provincial town. By mistake, he and his accomplices ambush and kill two workers. Shortly thereafter he hears a loudspeaker in the square announce that peace has been declared. In a nearby hotel he meets a beautiful girl working behind the bar; they meet later in his room. But he has also learned that the Communist, Szczuka, is still alive and that his assassination orders stand. The older man must die and the young one give up his dream of love and a useful life for the sake of a senseless loyalty. Drained of conviction, he kills Szczuka whom, in two brief encounters while stalking him, he has almost come to like. Running away—ironically, from one of his drunken fellow conspirators—he is shot by guards and dies on a rubbish heap.

But Szczuka is not struck down in any hour of personal triumph. The banquet celebrating the war's end and his arrival is a dull get-together of careerists and enemies biding their time. Back in his room, he listens to a record of a song from the Spanish Civil War, as if to recall a time when he fought untrammeled by the complexities of building a new society with the bricks of the old. When Maciek shoots him, he is on the way to see his son, brought up by a sister-in-law after his wife's death, who has just been arrested as a counterrevolutionary.

WAJDA HAS USED many brilliant cinematic devices to convey Szczuka's tiredness and resolution and Maciek's desperation. By setting killer and victim against the long vulgar banquet scene, he suggests, despite their political hostility, they are closer to one another than to the indifferent opportunists who will enjoy a peace and freedom they did not help to bring about.

Yet Wajda does not seem entirely sure of this romantic motif and underlines it with arbitrary symbolic gestures. Twice, Maciek lights Szczuka's cigarette; the dying man falls into his arms as though in his embrace, while victory rockets sparkle in the sky. Nor is there great depth in Maciek's affair with the girl Christine, which—Wajda would have the audience believe—might make all the difference in his life. One suspects that if she were not so pretty, the director would have felt the need to give their encounter more substance. Zbigniew Cybulski's intense performance as Maciek holds off doubts that come to us after the film ends.

**Ashes and Diamonds** is a most ambivalent film. It accepts the new Poland almost perfunctorily, as a fact, recognizing that there is no turning back to the old hierarchic way of life. Yet, while honoring men like Szczuka, it casts only an oblique look at the working class with which the Communist engineer has wholly identified himself. Wajda's heart is with the defeated Maciek, whom he endows with potentialities of which the killer's longings are the only evidence. He therefore converts a historically rooted conflict into individual tragedy charged with melodrama and packed with fearsome images, often unforgettable, often as uprooted as the character whose confusion they express.

**—Charles Humboldt**